

SYSTEMATIC SPATIAL VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICE ACTIONS:^{1,2}

GERALD F. PYLE Department of Urban Studies, University of Akron, Akron, OH 44325

Abstract. From June 1973 to August 1974 a survey was conducted to identify socio-spatial similarities and differences in public perception of police actions. A geographically stratified samples of 2,000 respondents within Summit County, OH evaluated police actions on 10 key issues. Analytical results by socio-economic and demographic characteristics showed distinctly systematic variations in attitudes. Confidence in the police increased with increasing age, income, and education. Whites demonstrated more confidence in the police than blacks, and men more than women. A spatial comparison of these systematic differences indicated a pattern which could be compared to the overall social ecology of the study area. Policy recommendations for the improvement of police-community relations based on these findings were made.

OHIO J. SCI. 77(6): 286, 1977

Recently, geographers have focused increasing amounts of attention on ways of improving our knowledge about variable spatial distributions of crime, particularly to the end that overall rates of crime can be lowered and, in some cases, that specific incidents can actually be prevented (Phillips 1972, Harries 1974, Pyle *et al* 1974, Capone and Nichols 1975). As these studies and related social scientific works are examined, it becomes increasingly clear that in addition to analyzing socio-economic cause and effect relationships, more knowledge must be acquired about multi-faceted aspects of attitude and behavior of our entire criminal justice system. Such a task requires a concerted effort on the part of many researchers. As regards spatial studies of this nature, certain systematic geographic variations in attitudes of con-

victed criminals have been explained (Carter 1974). In addition, a survey was conducted in 1973-1974 by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Akron, in order to identify spatial similarities and differences in public perceptions of crime distributions and attitudes toward police actions (Pyle *et al* 1975).

The purpose of this study is to present an analysis of that part of the 1973-1974 survey pertaining to socio-spatial variations in public attitudes about specific police actions. The results of the analysis demonstrate, in a fashion analogous to studies of the general geographic distributions of reported crimes, that systematic spatial variations exist and can be explained within the socio-spatial structure of the settlement patterns comprising American cities. In order to accomplish the analysis, it was necessary to incorporate within the study a stratified socio-economic and demographic cross-section of the study area.

THE SUMMIT COUNTY, OHIO STUDY AREA

Situated in the northeastern Ohio urban-industrial complex, Summit County registered a population of 553,371 during the 1970 Census. About half of that population resided in Akron, the central city of the standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA). The Akron area is

¹Manuscript received December 13, 1976 and in revised form April 22, 1977 (#76-100).

²This work was funded through the Summit County Criminal Justice Commission, the Administration of Justice Division, Ohio Department of Economic and Community Development, and the Law Enforcement Administration Agency. The contents of this work do not necessarily reflect the views of these agencies. The above named agencies reserve the royalty-free, nonexclusive and irrevocable license to reproduce, publish, or otherwise use, and to authorize others to use the work for Government purposes.

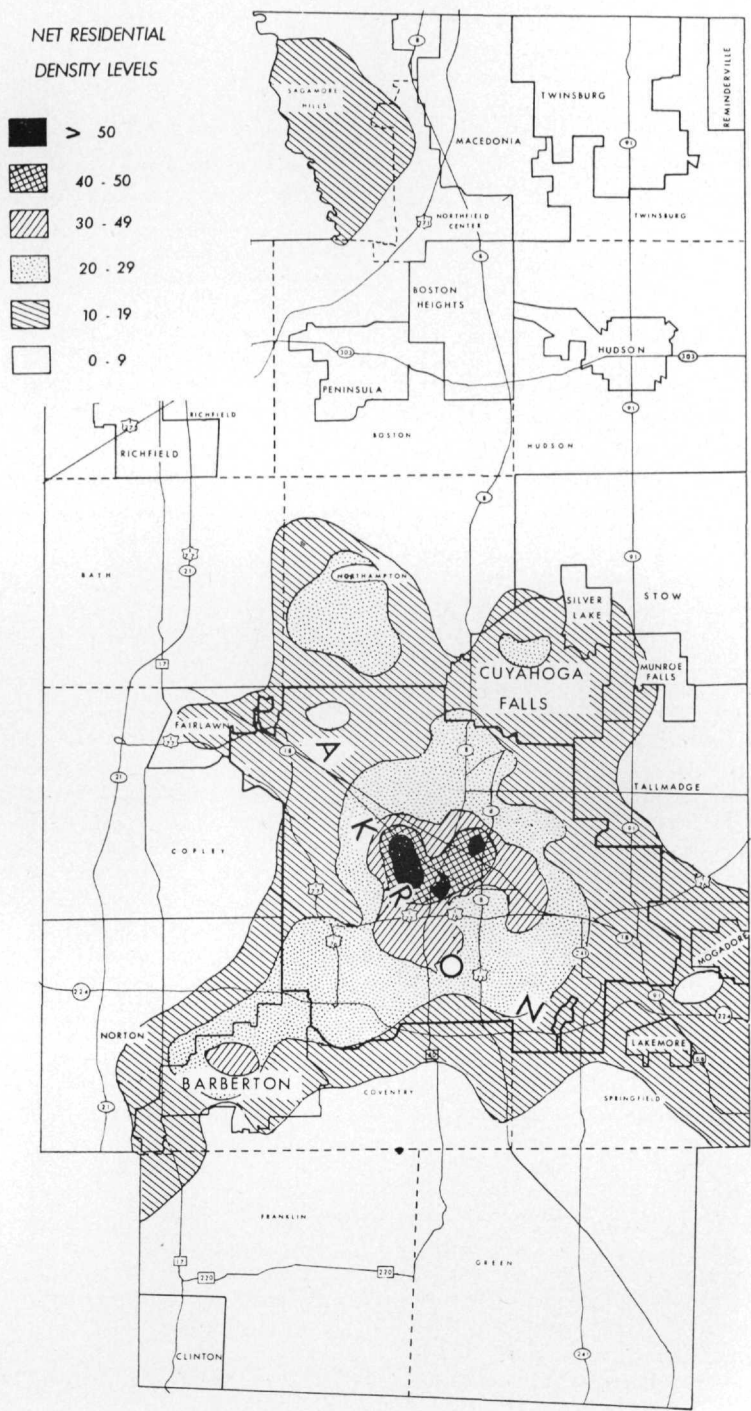


FIGURE 1. Map of Summit County, Ohio population density.

representative of many manufacturing centers in that much of the economy is dependent upon major rubber industries with plants located within the central city. Thus, the general urbanized area reflects much of the socio-economic and demographic characteristics found in medium-sized manufacturing cities. Essentially, the density of population within the county is monocentric, with the more crowded areas in terms of net residential density to be found within the central city and less dense areas radiating outward in a negative exponential fashion (fig. 1). The socio-spatial structure of the area is similar to many such cities. For example, this overall structure, based on a factor analysis of approximately 49 demographic and socio-economic variables as reported in the 1970 census, indicates that the parts of the Summit County study area with the least resources, primarily those areas with higher percentages of black population, white poor, and elderly, are located in the middle of Akron. As distance increases from the central city, certain directional axes reflect high, middle, or lower socio-economic status. In addition, some of the more youthful populations of the study area are to be found in suburban locations. These factors were taken into consideration when attitudes of the public were surveyed.

ATTITUDE DATA ACQUISITION

Ten major issues pertaining to police behavior were selected to measure public attitudes of effectiveness. These issues, contained within table 1, include protection of personal property, personal safety, police cooperation, numbers and distribution of police forces, general confidence in the police, and issues pertaining to police brutality, integrity, and employment opportunities. Survey respondents were requested to rate the police in their part of the county on a semantic differential scale using bipolar adjectives at the extremes. The numerical scale selected ranged from 1 (Usually inadequate to poor) to 7 (Meant to measure very adequate or excellent).

The actual survey, conducted from the fall of 1973 to the spring of 1974, consisted of 2,000 representative respondents.

TABLE 1
The factor structure of the percentage of responses equal to or less than 4.0.

Ques. No. and Topic	Loadings	
	Factor One*	Factor Two**
1 (Personal Property)	.861	.272
2 (Personal Safety)	.929	.226
3 (Complaint Cooperation)	.885	.337
4 (Police Numbers)	.761	-.442
5 (Confidence: Police)	.853	.341
6 (Response Time)	-.814	-.192
7 (Employment: Community)	.101	.655
8 (Police Brutality)	-.693	-.512
9 (Police Integrity)	.776	.442
10 (Minority Employment)	.327	.789

*A dimension indicating overall confidence in police.

**A dimension indicating perceived police employment opportunities and administrative confidence.

The survey population was stratified geographically, demographically, and socio-economically. For reasons of individual confidentiality, respondents were requested to list only their zip code area, thus making it possible to recover information by geographic areas smaller than the total county. The geographic stratification consisted of selecting percentages of respondents from the various zip code areas in proportion to the percentage of the zip code area contained within the entire county population. In addition, given information in the form of 22 socio-economic variables for zip code areas, the populations were stratified in accordance with age, race, sex, income level, and several other such indicators. The geographically stratified portion of sample measurement was significant at the .001 level, and the demographic and socio-economic measures of the sample survey population were significant at the .002 level. Respondents were also requested to indicate the various socio-economic and demographic measures on an accompanying questionnaire.

THE MEASUREMENT OF RECOVERED ATTITUDES

Through this kind of survey mechanism it was possible to recover measurable attitudes for each of the 10 key issues con-

tained within table 1 by zip code areas and by indicators of demographic and socio-economic status. In many instances respondents tended to indicate somewhat ambivalent or possibly non-committal attitudes by tending toward selection of the number 4 in the middle of the semantic differential scale. However, through utilization of the range of 7 optional numbers, it was possible to make distinctions. This was accomplished by computing median responses for each question and summarizing these by area and various demographic and socio-economic groups of the sample population. In terms of uncovering the dimensionality of spatial variations in attitudes toward the police, a principal components analysis was utilized. The results of both of these methodologies showed definite systematic variations which can be explained by the socio-spatial mosaic of the study area and by comparison with similar analyses reported for other locations within the United States.

EXAMPLES OF CORRESPONDING STUDIES

Useful theoretical background information about attitudes toward the police was available from similar studies conducted within several major locations throughout the country. Some examples wherein such surveys were administered include Brooklyn (Abbot *et al* 1969), Hartford (McCaghy *et al* 1968), Washington (Biderman *et al* 1967), San Diego (Lohman and Misner 1966), Omaha (Kuchel and Pattovina 1969), Philadelphia (Lohman and Misner 1966), and a comparative analysis of Boston and Chicago (Reiss 1967). In general, most of these studies indicated attitudes of the general public which, when aggregated, tended to be positive—indeed, almost urgently optimistic toward the police. In spite of differing survey instruments, methods of analyzing opinions, and hypotheses, certain systematic variations in attitudes toward the police were identified and correlated with race, age, education and income.

Generally optimistic and positive attitudes were described in several ways. For example, in the study conducted by Reiss (1967) within high crime areas of

Boston and Chicago, 54% of those surveyed indicated general respect for the police with regard to the way they were performing their functions. In a study conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) utilizing a sample of approximately 5,000 crime victims and non-victims, about 77% perceived the police as performing a good job in terms of law enforcement (Ennis 1967). A study conducted within Brooklyn, NY confirmed some of the results found in the NORC study regarding neighborhood safety, in that 71% of the sample perceived the police to be providing good protection. The Hartford study indicated that 65% of those surveyed were satisfied with the police, while a Washington, D.C. survey reported 85% satisfaction with the police. Suggesting that law enforcement officials were deserving of more respect than they were receiving at that time (McCaghy *et al* 1968). Similar results were reported by a survey conducted within San Diego (Lohman and Misner 1966).

The above findings did not indicate that there was overall favoritism toward the police on all issues. For example, the NORC study indicated that their sample was more positive toward general police respect than toward definitions of effective law enforcement. A degree of dissatisfaction with the police was reported from the Hartford sample, primarily because there was a general perception of lack of sufficient numbers of law enforcement officers. In fact, it is not uncommon for many to express desires for greater manpower and stricter law enforcement as the solution to crime problems, as opposed to finding socially oriented solutions geared toward future crime reduction (McCaghy *et al* 1968). While such thinking appears to hold true for major crimes of violence and against property, other opinions of a less favorable nature have been recorded for less serious offenses.

Within many of the surveys mentioned, there appeared to be general feelings that the police should concentrate more on major crimes and not be quite so concerned about matters considered by some people as insignificant (Reiss 1967, Ennis 1967). For example, the Washington,

D.C. survey indicated that about half of the respondents ascribed to that point of view. Similarly, such attitudes were expressed by those surveyed within the San Diego area, as indicated by complaints about numbers of citations issued for traffic violations. A related attitude of concern to many people is the general demeanor of police officers. In the survey conducted within Omaha, there was a strong indication that the police image could be improved by greater amounts of courtesy to the public (Kuchel and Pattovina 1969). In many instances, opinions revealed that individuals were accorded differing kinds of treatment by the police on the basis of indicators of their overall socio-economic status (Biderman *et al* 1967).

The most obvious indicator of socio-economic status, in many cities, is race. It is not surprising to find much literature pertaining to differential black and white attitudes toward the police. Conversely, some of these findings indicate, as those of Reiss (1967) for example, that socio-economic status may, in some instances, be more of a determinant of poor treatment than race. The Philadelphia study reported that a significant percentage of the general population indicated that the police should develop a better understanding within black neighborhoods in order to alleviate tensions periodically arising between blacks and the police (Lohman and Misner 1966). The Washington, D.C. study found that 50% of the sample perceived the more affluent to be receiving more preferential treatment by the police than were those with more modest financial resources. While it is somewhat difficult to clearly segment perceptions of the police strictly in accordance with either race, income, age or other indicators of socio-economic status, sufficient research has been done to assist in offering explanations to some of the findings of the study conducted within the Akron area.

SYSTEMATIC REGULARITIES WITHIN SUMMIT COUNTY

Respondents surveyed generally had attitudes similar to those identified in the corresponding studies in other areas mentioned above. Systematic regularities

were measured in accordance with race, age, sex, income, levels of educational attainment and length of occupancy in current household. Median responses were used to summarize these differing attitudes. For purposes of comparison, the mid-point on the semantic differential scale was selected as the expected average. In other words, median responses below the 4.0 benchmark were viewed as either positive or negative depending upon the question, and those above the 4.0 mark were considered to be the inverse. Actual police action evaluation responses were recovered by zip code areas, and median responses were aggregated depending upon the question asked. As previously mentioned, not all of the polar adjectives contained within the questionnaire indicated high or low confidence depending upon the number (table 1). Therefore, for some of the questions, particularly numbers 6 and 8, a low median response was interpreted as a high degree of confidence in the police and a high median response as a lower degree of confidence. These results can best be understood by examining the various demographic and socio-economic aggregations.

DIFFERING RACIAL ATTITUDES

One of the best publicized and most controversial aspects of attitudes toward the police revolves around racial relations within communities. The findings of the Akron area study indicated a nearly dichotomous set of responses when those surveyed were separated in accordance with race. For example, white responses to almost all questions were either well above the 4.0 mid-point on the semantic differential scale, or, in the case of questions 6 and 8, below this value (table 1). The highest median response indicated by white persons surveyed was for question 3, pertaining to cooperation of police in responding to personal complaints. By contrast, black responses to question 3 indicated a median of only 1.90 and this was the lowest median response given by the black respondents. Black responses pertaining to issues of protection of property and personal safety (questions 1 and 2) indicated medians of 2.63 and 2.43 respectively, and white median responses for the same issues were 4.61

and 4.64. In terms of police brutality, the median white response was 2.15 or, toward the very low pole of the scale, while the black response was 5.10, well above the mid-point in the scale. The dichotomous attitude found between blacks and whites regarding perception of the police within the Akron area are by no means unique, and reference to related studies bears this out.

Minority groups with relatively lower socio-economic status do perceive their treatment by the police to be different from that accorded to whites. This is known to be true in black communities. For example, Reiss (1967) found in his surveys of Boston and Chicago that less than 20% of the black population from either area had much confidence in the police. These findings were confirmed by Yearwood (1968), who indicated that a majority of black ghetto residents perceived the police in a negative fashion, thus leading to hostility. According to Yearwood (1968), blacks perceive police brutality in almost a mental rather than a physical sense. One such indication is that some blacks feel the use of black ghettos as training grounds for new officers is an insult to black dignity. There are many instances wherein continuous changeovers of young police officers in the black community have been documented.

It also has been contended that other police practices may contribute to a general breakdown of community relations within black neighborhoods. In some instances it has been asserted that field interrogation was not always carried out in a responsible manner, and this kind of behavior alone can encourage anti-police attitudes (Condlin 1969-70). Another problem area which has been documented is the absence in some cities of responsive police complaint bureaus. This gives rise to the attitude among many blacks that it is a useless effort to report crimes because there is often no follow-up to certain kinds of complaints (Condlin 1969-70). Aspects of lack of respect or disrespect toward blacks and black neighborhoods was reported by the National Advisory Commission on Racial Disorder. According to the Commission's survey, 38% of blacks interviewed asserted that the police often used in-

sulting language or other forms of disrespect in their neighborhood, while only 16% of the Commission's white sample held the same opinion (Prager 1968). The NORC study already outlined indicated that even some of the highest income blacks interviewed offered strong criticisms of the police in terms of respectful behavior. While many blacks surveyed in this kind of study indicated the desire for more respect from the police, there was some indication that many residents of black neighborhoods desire greater police protection than they feel they are now receiving. This particular complaint is particularly true among older blacks (Ennis 1967). There is a desire among many blacks for more community protection and less negative behavior from the police (Bayley and Mendelsohn 1969, Ricks 1971). Within yet another context, the police in general can be viewed as a poignant manifestation of society as a whole.

Returning to the Akron sample, some of the responses indicated that while there was some suspicion and distrust between the black community and the police, there was also a desire for increased numbers of black police officers. For example, on questions 7 and 10, (table 1) both pertaining to opportunities to join police departments, the median response for blacks was 2.04 and 2.03, respectively. Conversely, white respondents registered medians above the 4.0 mark for both questions. The pronounced differences between black and white respondents were by no means restricted to racial characteristics.

COMPARISONS BY AGE COHORTS

Regular patterns of increasing police confidence with increasing age showed up when respondents were grouped into various age cohorts. While the survey consisted primarily of respondents over 20 years of age, many high school students were also interviewed to obtain youthful opinions. In most instances those respondents ranging from 16 to 19 years of age did not express a great deal of confidence in the police. For those questions where a median response above 4.0 indicated positive levels of confidence, only one, that pertaining to numbers of

police personnel available to combat crime within particular areas (table 1 question 4) was measured as having an overall median response, above 4.0 for the 16-19 years of age cohort. Some of the median responses indicating lesser degrees of police confidence expressed by the more youthful groups came from a central city area containing large numbers of black youths. By contrast, some more affluent portions of the county showed median responses as high as 6.00 and 7.00 for that question.

Median responses from those surveyed between the ages of 20 and 24 demonstrated more variable results than did the more youthful group, but higher degrees of confidence were expressed. This trend continued for most age groups. The general tendency was for confidence to increase and peak for those respondents at approximately age 50 to 60. It is important to note, however, that confidence dropped on all issues for more elderly populations. Victimization of the elderly is, of course, well documented. It is not always possible to separate increasing age from increasing income levels and there are some additional reasons for lower confidence among this group.

Studies in other locations generally confirm and help to explain some of the Summit County findings regarding age determinants of attitudes toward the police. For example, a Cincinnati study of junior high school students found that female students were the least hostile toward the police and black males the most hostile (Portune 1967). In another study of high school students in Austin, TX, significant differences were found between males and females and racial distinctions were more important than age (Hanna 1970). Part of these differences were determined to be related to occupations of parents. For instance, it was determined that the higher the occupational level of the father, the greater the pro-police sentiment of the student. Bouma's (1969) findings indicated that fundamental changes in youthful attitudes toward the police generally take place during junior high school years. A significant movement from positive to negative attitudes toward the police can thus be formed very

early. By the time many young people reach high school and college age, some of these attitudes become permanently affixed. For example, in an analysis of college students in Pasadena 88% of the black males interviewed indicated that they felt harassed by the police and 37% of the white male students expressed the same attitude (Johnson 1972). Successful completion of college and acquisition of employment can lead to changes in attitudes toward the police and more positive perceptions are often formulated. This is manifested particularly when viewing differing responses in accordance with income groups.

INCOME AND EDUCATION AS DETERMINANTS OF ATTITUDE

Systematic regularities in variable attitudes toward the police were found clearly pronounced when respondents were examined by income levels and educational attainment. As regards income, general median responses for those interviewed with incomes below \$5,000 annually indicated low confidence levels in the police, as would be expected. Median responses from those individuals in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 annual income bracket were substantially higher than from the lowest income group. For these lower-middle income respondents, overall measures did tend to show a mix of higher and lower confidence levels depending upon which question was posed. For example, when measuring respondents within this income bracket within the county, there was a general tendency toward confidence. Still, responses to questions 7 and 10 (table 1) about employment opportunities were lower, giving some indication of difficulty among some respondents desiring police employment. Overall, indicators of confidence by income group increased in a curvilinear manner. Responses pertaining to personal protection increased drastically, but dipped somewhat at the \$15,000 to \$25,000 income level and then increased rapidly at the over \$25,000 annual level.

Most studies of attitudes toward the police show that the poor are less favorable than the more affluent. The study by NORC indicated that the higher the income among whites, the greater the

pro-police sentiment (Ennis 1967). When estimating the overall effectiveness of local police, 17% of the low-income sample (below \$3,000 annually) thought the police were very effective. Conversely, 32% of the higher income sample (over \$10,000 annually) reflected similar feelings. The Washington, D.C. survey indicated that black attitudes toward the police did not display such a pronounced increase with income as did white levels of confidence, while white attitudes toward the police showed the same steady progression of pro-police sentiment as measured within my study (Biderman *et al* 1967).

While education is not always a determinant of income, the similarities were close enough to find parallel measured relationships. The Washington, D.C. study found that there was a definite relationship between income and pro-police sentiment for both black and white groups (i.e., the higher the educational level the more confidence in police). As pointed out by Panawek (1970). Higher levels of education generally contribute to more comprehensive information systems and, hence, higher levels of confidence in the police.

Responses recovered by levels of educational attainment within Summit County generally followed such a trend. Some of the lowest median responses came from persons without a high school education, particularly with regard to question 4 (sufficient police personnel) and question 7 (opportunities for employment). It is understandable that persons without a high school education would perceive their opportunities for such professional employment as somewhat limited. Many with a high school education, however, had responses similar to those without a high school education. In general, for the Summit County area, those with a high school education perceived insufficient numbers of police for their local area. As educational levels for the Summit County sample increased, those with some college and those with a college education had higher levels of confidence in the police than those without.

Responses recovered on the basis of socio-economic and demographic groupings within Summit County showed in

the aggregate, as was the case in many other cities, feelings of confidence and optimism regarding attitudes toward police. One major exception involved hiring policies. A majority of respondents, particularly those who were white, expressed confidence in the police and viewed the police as necessary and important. However, this was not true with black respondents. At the time the survey was administered, there was some controversy within the City of Akron pertaining to the hiring of black police officers. The situation was subsequently resolved by court-ordered integration of the police department. This action alone may not have resolved the problem completely because of another factor, which may have operated independently. Those who favor the police or do not favor the police, regardless of economic status, age, or education, frequently perceive there are simply insufficient opportunities for individuals in their neighborhoods and communities to become police officers.

A SPATIAL EXPRESSION OF PERCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES

The systematic regularities measured among the various respondents in their perceptions of police behavior can be expressed spatially. Given the many forms of residential segregation (e.g., racial, age-wise, and financial resources) within such cities as Akron, it would have been expected that the socio-spatial differences would also have been reflected when the measured attitudes about police effectiveness were expressed spatially (see fig. 1). While there were some generally common and easily explained corresponding spatial patterns shown, there were also some spatially distinct expressions of variable attitudes indicating a multidimensional structure of perceptions toward the police.

There were 3 methodological steps entailed in summarizing these different attitudes spatially. The first procedure was, because of a tendency toward the mid-point in responses, to tabulate various scaled judgments by zip code areas and by question. Two further tabulations were then accomplished. These were the development of a matrix wherein percentages of responses by question and zip code area below the 4.0 mark were

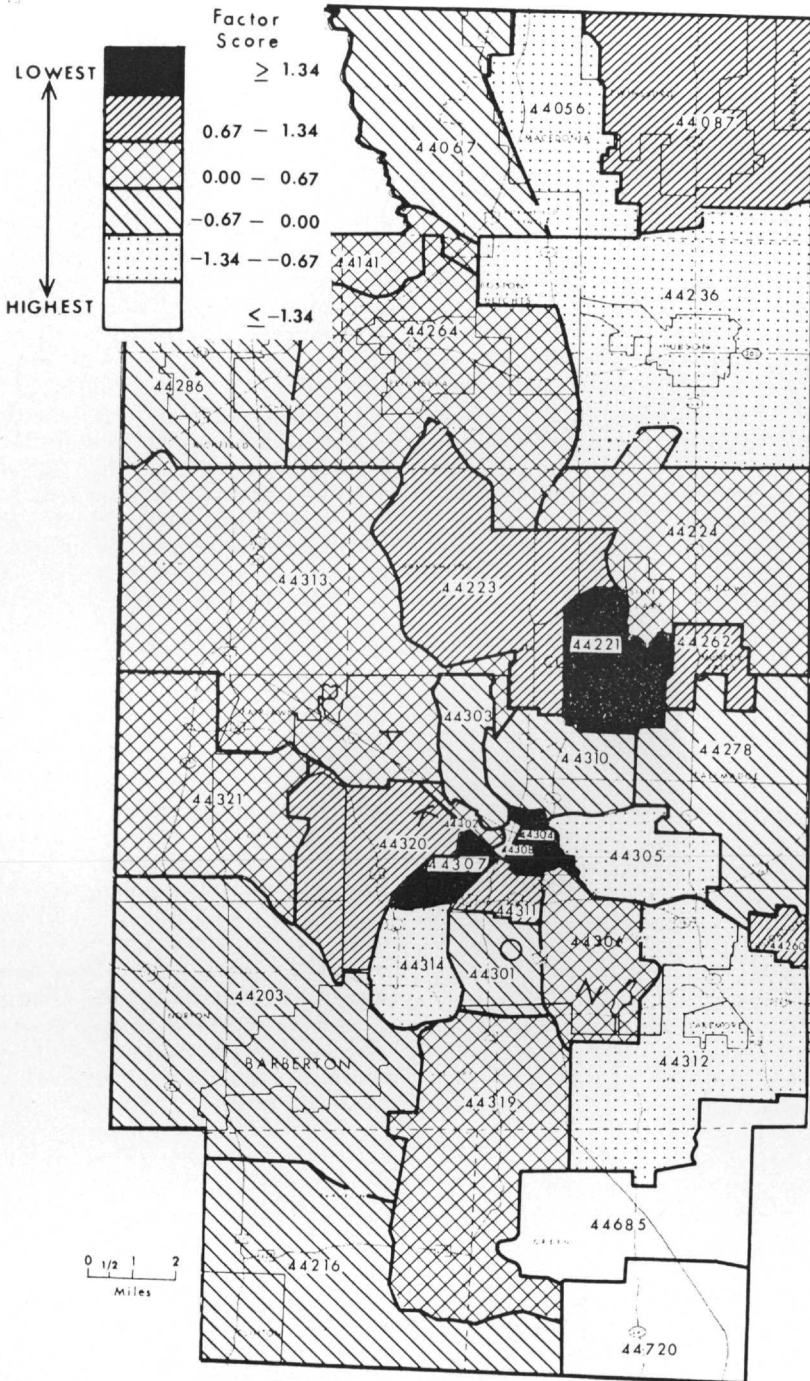


FIGURE 2. Map of Summit County, Ohio by zip code areas showing factor two responses less than or equal to 4.0 for perceived police employment opportunities and administrative confidence.

contained and a second matrix consisting of percentages of responses by area and question above the 4.0 mark. The two data arrays were then processed through a principal components factor analysis with orthogonal rotation. In both instances a two-dimensional solution resulted and generally, one set of results reflected the inverse of the other. For purposes of clarity, the factor analysis with percentages of responses less than or equal to 4.0 was used.

Table 1 shows the factor loading indicating the two-dimensional solution selected. The first factor, as would be expected, contains the largest number of questions with highest loadings. It is of particular interest that questions 6 and 8, with reverse polar adjectives, contained high negative loadings on this particular factor. Factor one accounted for approximately 75% of the variance. The second factor contained highest loadings on questions 7 and 10, both concerned with employment opportunities. In addition, there are important loadings within the second factor for question 8, pertaining to police brutality, and question 4, sufficiency of police numbers. Factor scores were computed for each of these dimensions and scores for the first were mapped as figure 2 of this study.

OVERALL LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE

The first and principal factor of the two-dimensional solution of percentages of scaled responses equal to or less than 4.0 can be interpreted as a combination of issues centered about general levels of overall confidence in the police. The spatial distribution of factor scores contained within figure 2 demonstrates the variability of this particular combination of scaled responses. Those parts of the study area with the lowest level of confidence, as indicated by this factor, are located on Akron's lower west side and other parts of the inner city. Levels of confidence were highest in the northwestern and northeastern parts of Summit County. Reference to figure 1 shows that these are, indeed, some of the higher income sectors of the study areas. There is one exception to this general pattern and this is the area around zip code 44264, Peninsula, OH. Peninsula is a small

Cuyahoga Valley community with limited resources in terms of providing police protection. The entire population is Caucasian. Conversely, those parts with lowest confidence in this central city of Akron are primarily black neighborhoods. Southern Summit County demonstrates a mixture of attitudes generally reflecting average levels of confidence in the police.

The particular pattern of high to low levels of confidence in the police as indicated by figure 2 in combination with the previous discussion, and in accordance with general demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the populations, generally supports the kinds of findings reported for other urban places within the country. The general spatial patterns, however, are not nearly so strong as are the patterns among groups when compared aspatially. While part of this is due to the necessary recovery of information by zip code areas because of confidentiality, part of the difference is indicated by general suburban fragmentation of the provision of police services. In other words, municipal budgets vary somewhat in terms of funds available for police protection, and part of this is due to attitudes and behavior of inhabitants of particular areas.

ADDITIONAL DIMENSIONALITY

Aspects of fragmentation of county police services as well as the social structure of the study area also help explain additional distributions of factor scores from the second dimension. This second factor was interpreted primarily as a dimension indicating perceived police employment opportunities, as well as a secondary indicator of some levels of distrust of the police. The reasons for this interpretation are based upon the studies which had been developed in other cities, as well as the results from this analysis. For example, some central city areas containing larger numbers of blacks indicated low responses pertaining to the questions about employment opportunities. This is reflected in the higher factor loadings on questions 7 and 10 and a high negative loading pertaining to question 8 (police brutality) and question 4 (distributions of forces). Aside from the rather distinct issue of hiring, the re-

mainder of the county seems to be somewhat mixed, giving another indication of fragmentation. One anomolous area is zip code area 44221, comprising a large share of the community of Cuyahoga Falls. Low levels of confidence are somewhat difficult to assess for this area because there are virtually no poor or black individuals within that particular community. Conversely, the community is well known for strict law enforcement, and this includes traffic violations.

In general, the principal components analysis has assisted in summarizing the findings within a spatial context. The general pattern shown in figure 2 offers further support to the contention that the Akron area is similar to many other parts of the country. In addition, it is of importance that additional dimensionality was uncovered for the sample population, thus making it possible to measure levels of confidence in more than one way.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The results of this study demonstrate that systematic social and spatial variations in attitudes toward police actions do exist. Attitude, in turn, influences behavior in urban space in many ways. For example, the sharp social and spatial distinction identified between black and white respondents reaffirms the notion of racial differences in activity space within the county, in addition to residential segregation. Increased confidence in the police as levels of income increase is an indication of a general suburban compromise wherein greater degrees of trust are generally allocated to local police agencies in more affluent suburban environments. The finding that confidence in the police decreases with age is a manifestation of the victimization of the elderly, particularly within the central city.

The conclusion that overall levels of confidence in the police are at least two-dimensional when exploring 10 key issues indicates a fair amount of spatial complexity. In general, however, overall low levels of confidence within less affluent portions of the central city are a strong indication that something is wrong with police-community relations. It can, in fact, be demonstrated that crime rates

are lowered when concerted police-community relations efforts on the part of law enforcement agencies are made in central city areas (Pyle 1976).

LITERATURE CITED

- Abbot, David W., Louis H. Gold and Edward T. Rogowski 1969 *Police, Politics and Race*. Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge.
- Bayley, David H. and Harold Mendelsohn 1969 *Minorities and the Police: Confrontation in America*. The Free Press, New York.
- Biderman, A., Louise A. Johnson, Jennie McIntyre and Adrienne Weir 1967 *Field Surveys I: Report on a Pilot Study in the District of Columbia on Victimization and Attitudes Toward Law Enforcement*. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., Washington, D.C.
- Bouma, Donald 1969 *Kids and Cops: A Study of Mutual Hostility*. William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids.
- Capone, Donald L. and Woodrow W. Nichols, Jr. 1975 *Crime and distance: An analysis of offenders behavior in space*. *Proc. Asso. Amer. Geographers* 7: 45-49.
- Carter, Ronald Lee 1974 *The criminal's image of the city*. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. Oklahoma. 183 p.
- Condlin, Robert J. 1969-1970 *Citizens, police, and polarization: Are perceptions more facts?* *Urban Law J.* 47: 653-672.
- Ennis, Philip H. 1967 *Field Surveys II: Criminal Victimization in the United States: A Report of a National Survey*. Natl. Opinion Res. Center, Univ. of Chicago.
- Hanna, William S. 1970 *Independent, Mutual and Reciprocal Perceptions: Police and Adolescents*. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. Texas at Austin, Univ. Microfilms #72-2345.
- Harries, Keith D. 1974 *The Geography of Crime and Justice*. McGraw Hill, New York.
- Johnson, Jeffalyn H. 1972 *Experience and Attitudes of Black and White Community College Students Toward Selected Public Institutions*. Unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. S. California.
- Kuchel, G. L. and A. P. Pattovina 1969 *Polling the public*. *Police Chief* 36: 27-28 and 33-35.
- Lohman, Joseph P. and Gordon E. Misner 1966 *The Police and the Community*, Vol. 1 and 2. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., Washington, D.C.
- McCaghy, Charles H., Irving L. Allen and J. David Colfax 1968 *Public attitudes toward city police in a middle-sized northern city*. *Criminologica* 6: 14-22.
- Panawek, Gregory 1970 *Relationship between knowledge of criminal law and attitudes and deterrants*. Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, U.S. Internatl. Univ., Univ. Microfilms #71-6042.
- Phillips, Phillip D. 1972 *A prologue to the geography of crime*, *Proc. Asso. Amer. Geographers* 4: 86-91.

- Portune, Robert G. 1967 Attitudes of junior high school pupils toward police officers. *In*: U.S. Task Force on the Police Report. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., Washington, D.C.
- Prager, Frederick 1968 Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Racial Disorders. (Publ. by author).
- Pyle, Gerald F. 1974 The spatial dynamics of crime. Univ. Chicago, Res. Monograph #159. Chicago, IL.
- 1975 An analysis of public perception of crime and attitudes toward the police. Unpubl. report prepared for Summit County Criminal Justice Commission, Akron, OH. 310 p.
- 1976 Geographic perspectives on crime and the impact of anti-crime legislation. pp. 275-291. *In*: John S. Adams (ed.) Urban Policymaking and Metropolitan Dynamics. Ballinger Publ. Co. Cambridge.
- Reiss, Albert J., Jr. 1967 Public perceptions and recollections about crime, law enforcement, and criminal justice. *In*: Field Surveys III: Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, Vol. 1, Sec. II. U.S. Govt. Print. Off., Washington, D.C.
- Ricks, Truett A. 1971 Community leaders' attitudes toward law enforcement. Unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State Univ. Tallahassee.
- Yearwood, H. 1968 Police community relations. *Issues in Criminology* 4: 45-60.